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Citation for published version:

Jarvie, G 2016, Sport, the 2014 Commonwealth Games and the Scottish Referendum. in A Bairner, J Kelly & J Woo Lee (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics*., Chapter 18, Routledge International Handbooks, Routledge, 9781138792548, pp. 209-221. <https://doi.org/10.4324/97811315761930>

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.4324/97811315761930](https://doi.org/10.4324/97811315761930)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Published In:

Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics

Publisher Rights Statement:

This is an Accepted Manuscript of a book chapter published by Routledge in The Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics on 7/10/2016, available online: <https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Handbook-of-Sport-and-Politics/Bairner-Kelly-Lee/p/book/9781138792548>.

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Sport, the 2014 Commonwealth Games and the Scottish Referendum.

Grant Jarvie

The existence of a close relationship between sport, nations and nationalism was clearly illustrated before and during the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, Scotland, revealing how sport was used to both promote and challenge Scotland's status as a nation within the United Kingdom (UK) and its potential status as an independent nation-state. The involvement of sport in the 2014 Scottish referendum campaign was essentially limited to four broad areas (i) endorsements from sports people for both the yes and the no camps; (ii) the production of a series of documents and in particular the Scottish Government's White Paper on *Scotland's Future* and The *McLeish Report* into sport in an independent Scotland; (iii) the hosting of and participating in major sporting events in the belief that they would influence the outcome of the referendum; and finally (iv) answers to an extremely limited number of survey questions about sport in Scotland.

All of the above will be drawn upon in assessing the role that sport had to play in the campaign. More specifically, the chapter considers the following questions:

- Is the use of sport in Scottish nationalist politics new?
- What part did sport play in 2014 Referendum campaign?
- To what extent did Glasgow hosting the 2014 Commonwealth Games influence the outcome of the Scottish Referendum?

To answer such questions this chapter is divided into four sections: first, it provides an introduction to sport in the context of Scotland and the campaign for independence. Second it reminds us of sport's association with Britishness, Scottishness and the break-up of Britain. Third, it considers key documents where sport figured in the debates. Fourth, it considers the role of sporting celebrities and major sporting events that were prominent during the 2014 Referendum Campaign.

The politics of sport, Scotland and the 2014 referendum

Few, if any, studies have focused on the role of sport in referendum politics and this, together with Whigham's chapter in this volume, are perhaps the first studies to explore

the role of sport in the 2014 Scottish and UK Referendum Campaign. O'Donnell, when asked about the link between sporting and political success or failure asserted 'I can't think of a single case where it has really made a difference' (cited in James 2014: 1). Others point to the role that sport played in the downfall of apartheid South Africa, or the messages attached to the actions of athletes such as Jesse Owens (1936), Tommie Smith (1968), Cathy Freeman (2000) and many others who all helped to convey political messages at different Olympic Games.

There is a cross-disciplinary corpus of research that could contribute to a discussion on the role of sport in referendum politics from diverse fields such as political science, nationalism, social movements and European integration and from the closely connected examples of studies on sport in Quebec (Harvey 1999), Catalunya (Hargreaves 2000) and the Basques (Walton 2011) (all discussed in this volume too). It is wise to caution against the acceptance of any rigid universalism or thinking that perpetually links a particular sport to a particular nation. The relationship between sport *x* and nation *y* is not fixed in terms of content, time or place. Many sporting heroes or heroines have helped to keep alive the idea of what a certain nation is, was or should be. For example, the idea of any fixed national identity being attached to or supported by Scottish sporting heroes and heroines should be challenged for in the 1920s it was different from that of the 1940s or the 1990s or from the 2014 campaign for independence. The idea of Scotland championed by the likes of footballer Denis Law in the 1960s was different from the idea of Scotland championed by footballer Michael Stewart during the 2014 referendum Yes campaign.

As ex-club players, Denis Law and Michael Stewart were both associated with Manchester United, as was Sir Alex Ferguson who accused Alex Salmond of trying to silence Scots who lived in the rest of the UK after the First Minister called for severe restrictions on the sums of cash that they could donate to the independence referendum (Ferguson 2012). The pro-independence Yes Scotland campaign had imposed a £500 per person limit on donations from outside Scotland. Ferguson handed a symbolic sum of £501 to the Better Together pro-Union camp to highlight what he claimed was the injustice of the cap. Furthermore he added:

It is quite wrong of the man who is supposed to be leader of Scotland to try and silence people like this. I played for Scotland and managed the Scotland team. No-one should question my Scottishness just because I live south of the Border (Ferguson 2012).

On the 18th September 2014 the Scottish electorate voted by 55% to 45% to remain part of the United Kingdom and say no to independence. Scottish voters were asked to vote yes or no to the question- Should Scotland be an independent country? Yet it was never entirely clear what yes or no meant exactly (Jeffrey 2014: 1). The Scottish National Party that had formed the majority government at the time of the campaign dominated the Yes camp. The UK Government and the three pro-unionist parties, Labour, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats formed a somewhat uncomfortable coalition as partners in *The Better Together Campaign*. The former Chancellor of the Exchequer Alistair Darling MP led the latter while Nicola Sturgeon MSP, then Deputy Leader of the Scottish National Party, led the former.

The Referendum campaign lasted for more than 2 years and during that time more than 100 opinion polls monitored voting intentions on whether Scotland would be an independent country. Given that gambling and on-line betting is one of the greatest contemporary challenges facing not just Scottish or British, but world sport, it might be assumed that those placing a bet on sport might have been better informed about the outcome of the Referendum. Bell (2014) points out, on the Scotland decision the bookmakers got it right and the opinion polls got it wrong. The politics of sport during the campaign was marginal in comparison to the core ideological battlegrounds of the economy and calls for constitutional change. The No campaign focused primarily upon the economic benefits and risks of remaining outside of the United Kingdom while the Yes campaign argued that Scotland could only flourish if it had full control over its own affairs.

With the exception of high performance sport, partly funded through UK Sport's high performance programmes and centres and UK lottery funding, sport in Scotland has been a devolved area of Scottish affairs since 1999 when the Scottish parliament was re-convened. A prominent supporter of the Yes camp was Jim Sillars, former SNP deputy leader and Scottish Labour and Heart of Midlothian Football Club supporter.

Sillars had chastised the Scottish electorate shortly after the 1992 General Election results saying ‘The great problem is that Scotland has too many ninety minute patriots whose nationalist outpourings are expressed only at major sporting events’ (Jim Sillars, *The Herald* 24th April 1992: 1). On the contrary, the politics of sport was not simply limited to ninety-minute footballing nationalists, such as the previously mentioned Michael Stewart, the former Manchester United, Hearts and Scotland player, who fronted the Yes sport camp. Swimmers, cyclists, tennis players and rugby players all of whom participate in sports that take more or less than ninety minutes also expressed views.

The views of sporting celebrities on both sides of the campaign may help to bury the historical and mythical thesis that sport itself is not conducive to any form political consciousness. Andy Murray and others faced a backlash for supporting the yes campaign after tweeting on the day of the Referendum vote ‘Huge day for Scotland today! No campaign negativity last few days totally swayed my view on it, excited to see the outcome, let’s do this’ - (Murray 2014). Murray’s older brother Jamie, a former Wimbledon mixed doubles champion had already voiced his support for an independent Scotland while Sir Chris Hoy, Scottish Olympian and Olympic gold medalist was subject to a barrage of internet abuse by nationalists for warning that independence could harm Scottish sport. That athletes on both sides of the campaign voiced opinions is in itself to be welcomed for we need socially and politically committed voices in and from sport, people brave enough to speak up on the issues of the day and not totally ruled by the PR machines that advise today’s sporting celebrities.

As well as Murray athletes such as David Wilkie (swimming) and Eve Muirhead (curling) were criticised for taking a side during the 2014 Scottish Referendum campaign. Yet athletes such as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar who led the Milwaukee Bucks to five National Basketball Association (NBA) championships, and who converted to Islam and played for the Los Angeles Lakers, has openly encouraged sports stars to find their social and political voice (Broadbent, *The Times* 14th January 2015: 60). Hence he was pleased when basketball greats such as Kobe Bryant wore ‘I can’t breathe’ T-shirts which echoed the last words of Eric Garner, the black man killed after being placed in a chokehold by a New York police officer (Broadbent, *The Times* 14th January, 2015: 60). He wrote an article for *Times Magazine* pointing out that when the

Ku Klux Klan burn a cross in a black family's yard, prominent Christians are not required or forced to explain how these are not Christian acts (Broadbent, *The Times* 14th January 2015: 60).

When Joey Barton of Queens Park Rangers appears on the BBC's *Question Time* and gets mocked for "stepping out of his box", or Andy Murray gets criticised for tweeting about the referendum, it is a reminder that we need more socially and politically motivated sports stars to continually challenge the myth that sport and playing sport are not conducive to any form of political consciousness. What all of these athletes had in common was that they spoke their political and social minds, lived with the consequences and provided different forms of leadership both within and through sport.

Nationalism, Scotland, and glamour of backwardness

The association between sport, nationalism, Britishness and threats to the Union are not new. Sport has figured in the works of many of Scotland's leading literary and political figures including Nairn (1979) and Jenkins (1983). For John Murdoch, who campaigned for the Highland Land Law Reform Association in 1883, the politics of land reform, nationalism and shinty were inextricably linked. Neil Gunn (1931) questioned the use of the Highlands as a sporting playground for the nouveaux rich but also abhorred the professional athlete picking up the winnings on the Highland Games circuit of the 1930s and 1940s. This he saw as a symptomatic of a changing way of life that had little respect for local customs and traditional culture.

Just as Scottish writers have used sport to comment about the politics of place, nation and/or identity then Scottish sports men and women have added their own commentary. For footballer Denis Law, Scottishness was crucial. Following Scotland's 1967 victory over England, one year after England's 1966 FIFA World Cup victory, a certain logic prompted Law to enthuse that Scotland were now World Champions. Yet for Law the dual nationality of Scottishness and Britishness was rarely questioned. It is doubtful if Law would have accepted Nairn's (1979) argument that the enemy was Britain and not England. He felt acutely embarrassed about committing a foul in front of the Royal Box in the 1967 Wembley game. Following her gold medal victory in the 1986 Edinburgh Commonwealth Games 10,000 metres Liz Lynch proclaimed, 'I did it for Scotland' and the popular press found an instant national heroine (see Jarvie and Walker 1994: 23).

Following on from the curling bronze medal at the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games the Skip of the Great Britain team Eve Muirhead, entered into the row over independence when she admitted it was more special representing Great Britain than Scotland (Ward, The Herald 26th February 2014: 3). Curling is one of the few sports where the UK team is usually entirely Scottish in make up. Alex Salmond pointed out that a breakaway Scotland would apply to the International Olympic Committee to send a team to future Games under the Saltire (Salmond 2014).

At different times different Scottish sports have carried messages about Scottish and British politics. Leading up to the 1992 General Election it was not football that seemed to reflect the feelings of the Scottish electorate, but rugby union and in particular the clash between Scotland and England at Murrayfield, the national rugby union stadium (Jarvie and Walker 1994: 5). Those on the terraces were caught up in expressions of nationalism and patriotism. Perhaps idealistically, some political commentators of the time suggested that the game itself had taken on a much greater importance. In the words of one correspondent:

The message of Murrayfield this weekend was bigger than scrimmaging techniques and line-out skills. It seemed etched on the emotions of the players as they sang Flower of Scotland. It boiled constantly around the arena. Sometimes events happening send a clearer signal than a thousand pieces of newspaper. Murrayfield was a message of Scottish identity and nationhood (The Guardian 28th October 1991: 24).

Sport may not provide the strongest foundation upon which to mobilise a campaign for national separatism but sport is affected by its social and political surroundings. It carries social and political messages. To illustrate the general point that is being made, one additional example is noted. Much was made of remarks made by the Queen on the 14th of September 2014, just before the Scottish Referendum vote. She made a rare intervention on the political stage by stating that ‘she hoped the voters would think very carefully about the future before voting’ (see The Guardian 14th September 2014: 1). The comments were made as she left Crathie Kirk near her Balmoral estate in Aberdeenshire (Scotland) following the Sunday morning service. Balmoral estate is historically the summer residence of the reigning monarch, and its close association with the Braemar Royal Highland Society Gathering and Games extends back to 1848.

The reigning monarch is patron to the Gathering, an event that has been associated with royalism and referred to by Nairn (1988: 214) as helping to cement the glamour of backwardness. Nairn's main thesis relates to the process where ordinary folk's love of nation, crown and union, cemented by popular events such as the Braemar Gathering, has helped to deflect from the decline of the nation itself into a condition of backwardness. The historical popularity of the Highlands as a sporting playground, the creation of a "them and us together" or "they're just like us" mentality was assisted by the creation of a British sporting calendar of events. This included the regular Braemar fixture that for Nairn (1988: 229) depicted the normality of the absurd. A love of crown, nation and "Balmorality" through sport and other events facilitated not only the power of legitimation but also concealed, for Nairn, structural cracks in the make up of the United Kingdom that would in turn lead to the break up of Britain.

Many other examples in which Scottish and British sport have been used could be cited in order to establish that the association of sport with Britishness, Scottishness and the *Break up of Britain* is not new. This is the backdrop to the most recent Scottish Referendum and the organisations and people associated with the Yes and No camps. It is evident that the nationalism and patriotism that had influenced so many sports men and women over the years was as similar as it was different but it is certainly not new. To draw again upon Nairn (2014: 416), a writer who has done more than most to challenge the perception of Great Britain as a multinational state, what Scotland was wrestling with in 2014 was a set of circumstances that this 'Auld Nation was ready for a New Age'. But was it?

Independent sport and the Scotland we can create

The Scottish Government's White paper *Scotland's Future - Your Guide to an Independent Scotland* was published in November 2013. It ran to more than 649 pages of which four, in the section on Health and Well-being and The Scotland We Can Create, were devoted to sport (Scottish Government 2013: 176-180). The White Paper was entirely positive in outlook other than where it spelled out, as seen at the time, the consequences of a No vote as viewed by an SNP Government. These consequences were expressed primarily as opening the door to a new generation of nuclear weapons on the Scottish River Clyde, public spending cuts and a withdrawal from the European

Union (EU). The commentary on sport asserted that Scots were passionate about sport and that Scotland had a long and proud sporting tradition (Scottish Government 2013: 177).

The White Paper gave a summary of investments in sport either spent or planned and aligned to the key political messages about the new Scotland that could be created. Since 2007 when the SNP Government came to power, £73 million had been invested in sports facilities; 23 new football pitches and 12 new or upgraded swimming pools had been created; the development of new facilities for the Commonwealth Games in 2014; a £25 million National Performance Centre to be created at Heriot-Watt University; £80 million investment in Active School sport co-ordinators; £8.5 million of funding to secure two hours of physical education delivered in schools; 114 Community Sports Hubs established; a £10 million active places fund to encourage more active participation in local communities; £24 million of cash back money (money retrieved from the proceeds of crime) to go to sport in the community and £5 million invested in club golf since 2003 which had provided 260,000 children with the opportunity to play golf.

A key priority for action arising out of the investments and aspirations listed above and set out in *Scotland's Future* was to set up a Working Group on Scottish Sport to consider its continuing development, including the impact of independence. Linked to this was the McLeish Report published in May 2014. This placed an emphasis on physical activity for health but failed to address the role that sport plays in international or cultural relations and assumed rather than critically assessed the proposition that the solution was the transfer of further UK resources to Scotland despite sport having been devolved since 1999.

Around 11% of the athletes on UK Sport's world-class programme, which distributes £350m of exchequer and Lottery funding every four years, are Scottish. Scottish athletes made a contribution to one in five of the 65 medals won in London by Team GB. Supporters of Scottish nationalism insisted that its share of the National Lottery investment in sport – estimated at around £37m – should simply be transferred to SportScotland. But the UK government's position was that the entire basis of the National Lottery funding settlement would have to be revisited.

The 53-page McLeish Report was framed in part by pressures to pave the way for an independent Scotland to compete in the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. Commenting on the report, the then Secretary for Sport Shona Robison said:

The working group found that Scotland could compete as an independent country at the Rio Olympics in 2016 and there are no barriers to securing Olympic and Paralympic accreditation for an independent Scotland (The Scottish Government 8th May 2014a: 1).

The question of Scotland's involvement in the 2016 Olympics and Paralympics was seen as a given on the basis that Montenegro and the Balkan States had received recognition within one year of independence and that Croatia and Serbia had been accredited in Olympic terms ahead of any United Nations membership. Yet such an assumption was challenged by one of the few Scots with a place on the International Olympic Committee, Sir Craig Reedie. As a Vice- President of the International Olympic Committee he warned that athletes would 'follow funding and refuse to represent a newly-independent nation' (Reedie, The Guardian 2014). UK Sport's chief executive, Liz Nicholl, commented that a yes vote would weaken the medal chances of both Scottish athletes and their British counterparts (Nicholl, The Guardian 6th September, 2014). Reedie said he believed some athletes might choose to continue representing Team GB regardless of the outcome of the vote. No campaigners said that Scottish athletes who have already represented Great Britain would be free to choose. Scottish athletes benefit greatly from substantial funding through the UK Sport system and this, suggested Reedie, might mean that 'those who have received that may feel compelled to carry on representing Team GB' (Reedie, The Guardian 6th September, 2014).

Imogen Bankier, who represented Scotland at the 2010 Commonwealth Games and Great Britain at the 2012 Olympics said that she 'preferred the status quo and was worried about sports funding in an independent Scotland' She added, 'we can tap into the English system and be part of Team GB when it suits us and use it to our advantage... Independence would mean we would lose that'' (cited in Slatter 2014). Lynsey Sharp, the Commonwealth and European silver medalist told BBC Scotland that she was worried about the implications of independence because she spent most of

her time at Loughborough University, a place transformed by UK Sport money into a world-leading sports science centre. ‘If Scotland is able to do that why hasn't it done it already?’ asked Sharp (cited in Slatter 2014).

The 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games and major sporting events

The ability of cities and countries to bid for and host major sporting events is uneven, in terms of both economic and human capacity and capability (Kidd 2011). The number of countries and cities wanting to host the Commonwealth Games has been problematic. In 2006 only Melbourne and Wellington initially expressed an interest. Wellington eventually withdrew, citing cost as the reason, leaving Melbourne to win by default. The situation was somewhat better in 2010, with both Hamilton in Canada and New Delhi tabling bids. There were head-to-head bids in 2014 and 2018 – Glasgow against Abuja in Nigeria; and Australia’s Gold Coast against Hambantota in Sri Lanka.

There have been numerous studies outlining the advantages and disadvantages of hosting major sporting events (OECD 2008; Kuper and Szymanski 2014). Major sporting events are chased and secured in the belief that reputations can be enhanced and economies stimulated, yet few economic studies measure the “feel-good” factor associated with major sporting events. “Psychic income” takes many forms, including a sense of community and common purpose as well as sporting success. The OECD (2008) review identified direct benefits stemming from strategic alignment with plans for the city or nation; private-public investment partnerships; image and identity impact attracting population, investment and trade; environmental impacts upon built and natural environments and the potential for the expansion of infrastructure and the development of a more buoyant visitor economy. The indirect benefits include potential post-event use of land and buildings; infrastructure legacies; labour market impacts; property price increase and global positioning.

Having secured the right to host the Commonwealth Games in 2007 Glasgow proceeded to deliver an event that was presented as not only being good for Glasgow but good for the Commonwealth. The then Commonwealth Games Federation Chief Executive, Mike Hooper described Glasgow as ‘the standout Games in the history of the movement’ (The Games Legacy: Sunday Herald 2015: 2). Some of the key factors that contributed to Glasgow being talked of in this way were as follows:

- The Queen's baton relay covered 190,000 kilometres across 70 nations and territories representing a third of the world's population and making it the world's most engaging relay;
- 71 nations and over 2 billion citizens from the Commonwealth;
- 1.3 million tickets or 98% of tickets were sold and 88% of these were made available to the public;
- Delivered within a budget of £575.6 million including a security budget of £90 million;
- 46 official Games sponsors;
- England topped the medal table and Scotland came 4th;
- Pride House was central to raising the profile of LGBT rights;
- The largest integrated Para- Sport programme of any Commonwealth Games;
- Glasgow saw an increase of shoppers of just under 22% over the same period in 2013 and an increase of 36% in the two weeks prior to the Games;
- The Athlete's Village legacy consisted of 700 new homes and a new 120-bed care home for the elderly.

(Source: *Scottish Government* (2014b). Glasgow 2014 XX Commonwealth Games Highlights)

Yet the evaluation report that accompanied the Scottish Government's pre-Games analysis highlighted seven lessons that were to be learned about the delivery and promise about what legacies can and cannot deliver. In many ways these were consistent with what was already known from research into legacies. Glasgow learned from the lessons. The lessons were:

- Lack of robust evidence around long term legacy gains.
- Mixed evidence on economic growth and physical activity boosts.
- Past events vary greatly in their explicit legacy plans.
- No automatic trickle down effect upon positive legacy outcomes and any outcomes have to be planned for.
- Importance of a long term perspective otherwise planned outcomes will not be achieved.
- Importance of good institutional organisation.

- Importance of community engagement, grass roots involvement and authority to make decisions.

(Source: Scottish Government 2012- Research Findings 1/2012).

That the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games were a success is not in question but what is in question is the extent to which they affected the Scottish Referendum result and the real-politics of Glasgow 2014. The Scottish Government announced on 21st March 2013 that the Referendum would be held on 18th September 2014. Media reports at the time suggested that the date was chosen with 2014 being the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn (between Scotland and England) and the year that Scotland would be hosting two major sporting competitions - the 2014 Commonwealth Games and the 2014 Ryder Cup. It was asserted that this could influence the mood of the nation. Alex Salmond is on the record stating these events made 2014 a ‘good year to hold a referendum’ (MacAskill, The Sunday Times 10th August 2014). Both events were couched in terms of Scotland being more active, celebrating a modern vibrant culture and illustrating that Scotland could run major sporting events and by implication, its own affairs. However the latter of these events took place after the independence vote and therefore could not be seen to directly affect political events to the same degree as the Commonwealth Games.

Throughout the build up to Glasgow 2014, coined as the ‘friendly games’, both the Yes and No camps strived for political advantage while not wanting to be seen to be overtly using the Games to deliver referendum messages. Many asked if hosting the Games so close to the vote would affect the result (James 2014: 1). Gerry Hassan (cited in James 2014) told the BBC documentary *The Games People Play*:

of course the Commonwealth Games will have an effect on the referendum – it couldn’t be otherwise- and part of the independence argument is an argument about: whether Scots feel they have the confidence to do this.

So for supporters of independence such as Hassan the Commonwealth Games was about mood creation and a feeling of optimism that Scotland could be independent.

The Survation survey for the Mail on Sunday of 1,000 adults, carried out between July 30 and August 1st 2014, included a question on whether the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow was likely to affect the independence referendum vote. 80% said that the Games had made no difference to how they would vote. 12% said they had made them more inclined to vote yes while 7% said they had made them more inclined to vote no. Of those who were undecided 14% said that Scotland's organisation of and performance in the Games had made them more likely to vote yes, 4% said no and 82% said it would have no effect.

Blair McDougall, Better Together campaign director said:

The Commonwealth Games were great for Glasgow and we all enjoyed cheering on Team Scotland to success, but the Games had nothing to do with the referendum, which will be decided by the big issues like the economy.

Blair Jenkins, Yes Scotland chief executive, said:

This is a very encouraging poll and confirms new research by Dr Arkadiusz Wisniowski of Southampton University for the Washington Post, which indicates that not only is the result too close to call, but that Yes can win (Ross 2014).

There is no doubt that in the context of the Commonwealth as whole, sport is political and has an increasingly important international role in helping cities, the Commonwealth and countries talk to each other. As part of a soft power mix sport can certainly persuade and influence and its popularity means it is a natural target for carrying messages. Just as the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil carried messages about poverty, healthcare, education and the cost of the event, the opening ceremony of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth told us that these Games were about humanity, diversity and destiny. Billy Connolly evoked the memory of Nelson Mandela and reminded us of Glasgow and Scotland's support for the anti-apartheid movement. Sport played a big part in the apartheid struggle and perhaps unified the Commonwealth more than ever because it had a cause to rally around. Few if any of the Commonwealth leaders and sports ministers who flew into Glasgow expressed support for a Yes or No vote despite

the fact many of the countries and territories competing spawned independence movements.

For some the event may have provided a welcome break for voters from the onslaught of referendum news and in this sense provided a cathartic function or a safety valve for heated emotions. Many felt that there was no need to talk about the referendum during the Games and perhaps the real politics of Glasgow 2014 was that it helped promote the idea of the Commonwealth itself and in particular it bought more time for a Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) that desperately needed Glasgow to be a success and restore faith in the event so that future cities and countries would continue to bid for the event.

There is ample evidence that Commonwealth Games carry political messages (Jarvie 2014: 17) (also see Whigham in this volume). Events, when they go well, as this one did, tend to create a feel good factor but it is a different thing to claim that this will translate into votes. It would be unfortunate and indeed somewhat contradictory to think that on the one hand Scottish voters had become politically informed or engaged by Referendum politics and on the other hand politically influenced by a medal table and the positive feeling created by sporting success. But sport is an effective medium for cities and countries to build stronger relationships and the social and political potential of sport to win friends or help the politics of humanity, diversity and destiny has still to be fully grasped.

So what of the future? What is the purpose of the Commonwealth Games in the 21st century and did Glasgow help? What does the CGF want sport to look like in the Commonwealth? Will it suffice to be the public face of the Commonwealth every four years or will the future of the event depend on more being done to deliver on the core Commonwealth values? At the Glasgow opening ceremony, the CGF told us the Games are about humanity, diversity and destiny. For the Games to continue to be held in only the safe, prosperous and secure cities would fly in the face of such values.

How should we balance the emphasis on a race for medals every four years with much more of a continued focus on the sport-for-development-and-peace initiatives that have been developing throughout the Commonwealth. In Rwanda and Sierra Leone, for

example, sport has been used to restore normality in violent and war-torn communities. This was showcased during the Glasgow opening ceremony. The Commonwealth Games has never been just another international sporting event but an explicitly political and cultural exchange to affirm and strengthen values and communities.

Only a fraction of the public and private funds spent on sport in most Commonwealth countries goes to grass roots development and even less to initiatives such as major sporting events. This disconnect is exacerbated by the cost of the Games. Perhaps bid cities should ensure sustainable and measurable increases not only in sport and physical activity but involvement from the most marginal members of society. Perhaps the idea of joint bids should be revisited in order to ensure a more equitable hosting amongst the cities of the Commonwealth. It is not necessarily the case that campaigns led by international and local elites actually deliver for ordinary people.

What we can probably say about the politics of the Commonwealth Games is that Glasgow has bought the Games more time. Sport as Glasgow reminded us played an important part in the struggle for South Africa. Glasgow not only bought CGF time but also showed that effective cultural relations can be enhanced through sport. If the Commonwealth deeply believes in its values and wants to make the Games a sustainable resource for hope, it will have to think hard about where they go from here. Glasgow's Mandela moment is not a bad place to start. The realpolitik of Glasgow 2014 was not so much about local Referendum politics but saving the future of the Commonwealth Games.

In advancing a coherent consensus on the politics of sport that is good for sport and good for Scotland a framework for sport in Scotland is required. Unlike Canada, Scotland has no sports policy that it can call its own but it urgently needs a framework and active set of governance tools to (a) bring this about and (b) deliver it on the ground in communities in ways that change behaviour, improves life chances and plays its part in narrowing the gap between rich and poor. Canada Sports Policy 2012 may not be the solution but it provides a model framework that aims to forge; excellence, enhance education and skill development, improve health and wellness, increase civic pride, engagement and cohesion and increase economic development and prosperity.

Sport, soft power and winning friends

Sport is a culture which contributes to entire cultures, it is undoubtedly a site around which and through many conversations take place. Imagined communities are presented through sport; business is conducted through sporting contacts and cities; it is a language that helps nations, cities, communities and individuals to communicate; its popularity makes it a sought after medium for carrying messages; nations build soft power strategies around sport; unions such as the European Union recognise that sport has a part in cultural relations; since 2003 the United Nations has increasingly used it as a development tool; sporting icons are sought after in terms of celebrity diplomacy and it provides a specific form of trade and labour migration as sports workers move from country to country. Those interested in Scottish cultural relations cannot afford to ignore anything that helps win friends, act as soft power and helps countries and cities talk to each other.

Much of the existing body of research on the politics of sport makes a concerted plea that those studying politics, international relations and the politics of separation should not ignore the politics of sport. The relationship between social and political science should be mutual. They need each other in the sense that sports research needs social and political science just as social and political science needs sport.

The general contention of this chapter is that a body of work on sport's contribution to referendum politics is still in the making and that this study on the role of sport in the politics of the 2014 Scottish Referendum campaign provides but a small contribution to one of the silences within the politics of sport literature.

While some athletes and sports commentators past and present have made their voices heard such interventions are to be welcomed for many reasons one of which is that they challenge the myth that athletes and sport rarely can be at the forefront of social and political campaigns. Perhaps this is more of a problem for mainstream politics or social and political scientists who continue to be blind to the social and political activism that is forged both in and through sport

It is both argued and evidenced that during the Scottish Referendum campaign sport was neither a driver of cultural or political nationalism nor a hotly contested political issue. This is in the sense that it had no real political power in helping either the Yes or No campaign to achieve their political goals or influence Yes or No voters which way to vote.

However, the Referendum, while not affecting significant voting behaviour, may still have acted as a “public policy catalyst”. This point was emphasised by the senior civil servant responsible for the delivery of the Commonwealth Games (fieldnotes). While the 2014 Commonwealth Games might have been framed in terms of Scotland being more active, celebrating a modern vibrant culture and illustrating that Scotland could run major sporting events well, perhaps the realpolitik of Glasgow was more about the Commonwealth than Scotland or Glasgow.

Finally, there is Scotland itself and the way it thinks about its sportspeople and the invaluable contribution that those in sport can make to the social and political debate about Scottish culture. Far too often the popular language and culture of sport is forgotten when Scottish cultural critics meet to discuss important matters of the day and the role of culture in shaping and making of nations. The role of arts culture and identity in a changing Scotland was a common theme throughout 2014 and yet the silence on sporting matters within these very discussions was astonishing. Not because of the lack of socially or politically committed sportspeople but because of the framing of cultural discussions in Scotland which are often blind to the fact that sport is culture and a useful vehicle for cultural relations. This too has to change.

Word count: 7362

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